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ABSTRACT

This psychoanalytic descriptive case study of a 2-year-old girl investigates the emergence of self-object differentiation, particularly in relation to the anal, urinary, and genital zones. An early emergence of genital excitation and awareness in this child due to certain early experiences, intensified a search for "the missing phallus." In the case study, the symbolic use of a number of concrete objects (pens, crayons, and cigars) were examined as a distortion of the normally developing symbolic function. An attempt is made to identify those factors in early life which predispose to such distortions, as well as those circumstances which tend to cause particular stress during the first very active period of symbolic emergence, the second year of life. (CS)

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THE CHOICE OF SYMBOLS

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The advent of the capacity to symbolize, that is to represent something - whether it be an object, an event, or an idea, by something else, is a significant aspect of development during the second year of life. Piaget (1945) has described the beginnings of symbolism involved in children's play, as it proceeds from imitation in the presence of a model, to deferred imitation, and then internal mental representation which begins somewhere between 16 and 20 months, Piaget's 6th stage of sensori-motor intelligence. Once the child can make believe in this significantly advanced way of internal imaging, his play proceeds from a more passive use of objects (the doll or toy animal which is caressed or pushed) to the more active participation of the toy; the doll does things like eating or going to bed and the truck goes under a tunnel. Then, beginning at about 24 to 30 months, the child is capable of introducing an absent object in his play, substituting one object for another.

In a recent paper, Sarnoff (1970) has reviewed Piaget's ideas against the background of Ernest Jones' (1916) paper. Jones discussed the theory of symbolism in its psychoanalytic context, defining a symbol as a manifest expression of an idea that is more or less hidden or secret, so that the connection between the signifier and that which it signifies is an unconscious one.

As Sarnoff points out, Piaget's rich illustrations of play contain few symbols of the type specified by Jones before the age of 3 years. However, by the age of two years, some of the linkage between the objects and that which they represent has been lost. Therefore, the personality structure necessary for the formation of symbols in the psychoanalytic sense can exist from about 24 months of age onward. That is to say, a child can unknowingly use an object onto which he projects or imparts meanings that are different from the intrinsic qualities of the object itself.

Language symbolism is evolving during this same age period. Piaget (1945) maintains that there is an important difference between the symbolic systems of language and play. In language, the word has an arbitrary and conventionally assigned meaning, one which involves a social relationship between the child and his environment. Linguistically, words are known as "signs", distinguishing them from other symbols, in that words do not share any attribute with the thing which they signify, whereas symbols do.

In the symbolic system of play, in contrast to that of language, the play symbol may be, and perhaps usually is, an egocentric one, that is, an individual one. The resemblance between signifier and signified may be the product of individual thought, in contrast to the conventionally assigned meaning of the word.

Piaget states that the play symbol continues to be an individual one long after the appearance of language. Not until 8 or 9 years of age does play become "accomodated" to, or a reproduction of reality; that is, more and more a replica of the child's external experience.

The developmental fate of early play symbols is an important and fascinating problem. According to Piaget, the child between 2 and 4 years of age shows every variety in his play, from those symbols which are analogous to the symbols of dreams, to those which are entirely comprehensible to the child and deliberately constructed by him. Piaget argues that dreams are a continuation of symbolic play; that unconscious symbolism is but a particular case of symbolism in general; and that the conscious symbolism of the adult (images, metaphores, etc.), although very far removed from unconscious symbolism, is nonetheless developmentally related to it.

Langer's (1942) "presentational" symbolism is yet another, and an interesting conceptualization of non-verbal symbolism, particularly in relation to creative art forms. Langer's ideas were examined in a prior presentation where Galenson(1971) suggested a developmental progression from childhood play towards sublimation in creative artistic productions in some people, or towards acting out in others. This paper continues our earlier

theme, and is concerned both with the origin or the source of a certain type of symbolic play in children, and with its possible future fate. We think that the particular type of play which we shall describe can be linked with certain bodily experiences and with some aspects of child-parent interaction. We shall argue for a developmental linkage between some early play symbols (although by no means all) and the primary process symbols of dreams, the symbols of some fantasies and artistic creative forms, and certain fetishistic practices.

Any discussion of the origins of symbolism should begin with its earliest bodily sources. In an early paper on eye symbolism, Ferenczi (1916) proposed that the primary kind of symbolism is probably the equating of one part of the body with another, with one subsequently replacing the other. Over-emphasis of the upper part of the body in general comes about with repression of the lower half as the result of displacement from below upwards.

Greenacre (1954) has discussed a particular variety of body symbolism. She described somatic configurations or patterns of behavior which come into existence through particularly strong or repetitive stimulations, somatic patterns which would then be substituted for one another under conditions of stress. In her series of papers concerning fetishism and body image development, (1953a, 1955, 1958, 1960) Greenacre described a variety of conditions

leading to body image instability, some on the side of the infant, such as prematurity, congenital defects and physical illness, and some resulting from a maternal disturbance and interference with the child-mother relationship. She emphasized the peculiar importance of the genitals in the development of the sense of the body self, the individual sense of reality, and the individual identity in consequence of the gross anatomical genital difference between the sexes. The use of the fetish acts as a safeguard against anxiety resulting from body-dissolution fears and body-phallus problems, as well as anxiety due to confusion of sexual identity.

In our own research with infants during their second year of life, we have been most interested in body symbolism. We have been studying the emergence of self-object differentiation, particularly in relation to the anal, urinary and genital zones. (Roiphe 1968, Roiphe and Galenson, in press, Galenson and Roiphe 1971). In this early period, the mutual influences of drive pressure, developing body schematization and emerging ego functions are factors to be considered as they are brought into reciprocal interaction with contributions from the parental side. We have attempted to identify some sensations and body experiences which may contribute to the development of symbolism and to disturbances in the symbolic function. Instinctual phase developments as well as the parental contributions are, of course, equally relevant.

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In a previous publication, we described (Galenson 1971, 1972) a structural model for understanding the development of early concrete symbols based upon body sensations: for example, the biting of food is displaced to the fingers as they "bite" down on an object and then externalized to the "biting" knife as it cuts into material. The structural and configurational similarities between the biting teeth and cutting knife, and their similar vectorial properties (such as their direction and force) lead the child from his body via externalization onto concrete objects, as the separation-individuation process proceeds.

All children begin to use such concrete inanimate objects during their first year. Then, in the early part of the second year, play , in which a partially symbolic component can be identified, begins to emerge. It is just at this juncture that we look for the contribution of bodily experiences, the particular quality of the mother-child relationship, and the progression of instinctual phase development to the character of emerging symbolism: that is, to the type of inanimate object chosen for semi-symbolic play and the manner in which it is used.

Under normal developmental circumstances, the ongoing separation-individuation with establishment of self and object representation is facilitated through the use of a variety of

concrete transitional objects which stand for some aspects of the self and some aspects of the mother. These are the familiar stuffed animals and dolls. However, under unusual circumstances, where there have been important disturbances in body sensations and experiences during the first year, or in the quality of the mother-child relationship, we expect a deviant patterning in the employment of such concrete objects.

Greenacre, (1953a) has discussed such deviant patterning in her papers concerning the importance of body image problems in the early development of the fetishist. She writes, "In the potential fetishist, with the earlier instability and fluctuation of the body image, frequency of occurrence of overpowering massive body stimulation, increased tendency to visual introjection of the body and especially the genitals of "the other", there is all the groundwork for an exquisitely sensitive body-phallus identification." Greenacre goes on to describe the use of the fetish to bolster the underlying total body image as well as the sense of genital uncertainty, with the approach of the genital thrust of the phallic phase.

In our own work, we have been concerned with problems of body image instability during the emergence of anal, urinary and genital awareness at an earlier period, sometime between the 15th and 19th month. Elsewhere, we described the distortions of verbal

as well as non-verbal symbolism in an 18th month old girl who had considerable body image concerns because of certain early experiences, concerns which were intensified as she faced the awareness of the genital difference (Galenson and Roiphe 1971).

The child whose development we shall describe in this paper demonstrated a similar peculiarity in her early symbolic use of a number of concrete objects. A series of these objects was used by this child in a special, partially concrete fashion during the course of her second year, and although these objects did not by any means constitute her entire symbolic repertoire, they were by far her favorite ones. They differed from those usually seen in young children at this age in that they were unusually persistent, and they were used in a particularly intense and often obligatory fashion. Also, it seemed to us that they had received a greater contribution from the side of the parents than is usually the case.

Rose, a first-born child, had shared the parental bedroom during her first 6 months of life. There had been rather severe early colic, and she had worn an orthopedic brace on both legs from about 6 weeks to 5 months of age, because of a mild malalignment of both feet. The braces were removed each evening by her father in preparation for her bath which he always administered. At 4 or 5 months of age, concurrently with the onset of stranger

anxiety, Rose developed a "coy" or "flirtatious" look reserved for men only. The "look" consisted of partially lowered eyelids from beneath which she peered in rapid darting sequences. Rose was also more than ordinarily devoted to her father, a fact which was noted by her mother when we first came to know Rose at 13 months. (This close and early tie to the father was one which the mother implicitly fostered, for reasons of her own earlier history. Unfortunately we cannot discuss this further for reasons of confidentiality.)

Another unusual aspect of Rose's first year was the rather intense fingering of her external genitals during her diapering, a behavior first noted at 12 months of age. This contrasted in both the degree of intensity and duration with the casual, fleeting exploratory genital touching which is characteristic of the genital exploration which occurs at the end of the first year.

Awareness of Anal and Urinary Zones from 15½ Months:

At 15½ months of age, Rose had just begun unaided locomotion, a mild delay for which the braces were considered to be partially responsible. This was concurrent with the first trimester of her mother's new pregnancy, a circumstance which was to prove fateful for the future development of this young child. At about the same time, she began to indicate the stool in her diaper by

both gesture and word, while her general behavior was characterized by the negativity routinely associated with the anal phase of development. She had frequently witnessed a male playmate's urination but was not allowed to see her father urinate until her 16th month, when she clamored so vehemently that her mother persuaded him to permit it. Her initial reaction was one of fascination and intense excitement. Shortly thereafter, she pointed to the water faucet, using her word for urination, a displacement which was encouraged by her mother, and continued by the child in the form of water play later on. However, she consistently resisted her mother's rather mild attempts to train her for urination.

This avid interest in the sight of her father's penis and urination, and her devotion to him in general, continued unabated. She also pursued and flirted with a number of male observers in the nursery, often insisting upon sitting on their laps and "riding" their crossed ankles. There was no doubt about her clear preference for males!

Her genital manipulation which now involved fingering and stroking of the labia and the clitoral area while she was being diapered, was no longer the calm affair of her 12th month. It was accompanied by giggling and a facial expression of intense inner absorption.

The Beginning of Castration Anxiety

At 17 months, a series of new behaviors heralded the onset of symptoms which Rolphe (1968) elsewhere identified as an early castration reaction. One day in the nursery Rose stood with both legs spread apart, as a stream of urine trickled down along her inner thighs, alongside her diaper. Her facial expression was described by 3 observers as bewildered, upset and embarrassed, as she took a step towards her mother, looked back at the puddle of urine and then called for her mother's assistance. Her shame connected with her urinary functioning was clearly evident. Diaper changes were now resisted regularly; mild stool retention was reported by the mother, and Rose pointed to non-existent "boo-boo's" on her fingers. She developed a sleep disturbance and a fear of sitting down in the bathtub, and she consistently avoided looking at the penis of her male playmate, pointing to his umbilicus instead, (a displacement upwards which we have seen quite frequently in this situation). Her previously active masturbation showed a marked decline. Finally an upper respiratory infection with accompanying diarrhea completed the array of symptoms.

The background of her earlier experiences provides a clue to this new development. Early contact with her father was a more than usually erotic one, including his daily removal of her orthopedic appliance, her daily bath which he administered, and the favorite game of rocking astride his foot. In addition, she

had shared the parental bedroom for her first 6 months. This combination of circumstances, together with the partial immobilization of the orthopedic brace, had contributed to excessive and premature genital arousal. She was then repeatedly exposed to the impressive sight of her father's urinating penis. Greenacre (1953 B), in referring to such genital exposures, states, "--- awareness of (genital) difference becomes painful and the subject of envy, especially if the child has recently been subjected to other narcissistic blows and deprivations (such as illness, separation from the mother, loss of a playmate) and a sense of being at a disadvantage, with envy of the richer boy emerges then in a situation of special vulnerability".

We believe that her mother's pregnancy had constituted just such deprivation for Rose. The gradual withdrawal of the mother's cathexis threatened the child's already waivering self-esteem and body image stability. Her distress over the absence of the penis gave behavorial evidence of her psychological state of envy. That earlier fears of bodily disintegration and object loss were rekindled was reflected in her anxiety about diaper changes and urinary loss, as well as her sleep disturbance.

The Emergence of Concrete Symbols:

Rose had never before been interested in dolls. As her phallic-urinary preoccupation and her stool retention continued, she developed an attachment to several dolls which had been lying

about at home, and insisted that three of them accompany her to bed, and she was no longer interested in her pacifier and transitional object blanket. Words for "mother" and for the act of separation, "bye bye", were now used for the first time. Evidently a new level of symbolic development in the use of both concrete and verbal symbolic components had been attained.

Soon there was a whole series of additional concrete symbols. Rose searched the inner coat pockets of her father and other males, consistently selecting the pen from among other objects she found there. Cigars and wrist watches were similarly favored. These three groups of objects, all of which were particularly important to her father, seemed now to have been endowed with the feelings formerly reserved for his penis.

Hostile Aggression Mounts During a Month of Avoidance:

From her 18th to 19th month, Rose and her mother became locked in an oppositional struggle. She threw objects or alternately held on to them tenaciously, and every small daily routine became an impasse. At the same time, her own body exploration had ceased. Her mother, who responded by using every distraction she could devise, complained of loneliness and hoped her next child would be a boy. It was as if she intuitively sensed the struggle in which Rose was engaged.

Return of Body Exploration and Emergence of New Symbols

After a month of consistently avoiding the genital and anal areas, Rose returned to visual and tactile exploration of these zones with new intensity at 19 months. (This pattern of repeated emergence and inhibition has turned out to be quite characteristic of this second year of life.) In relation to her own body, her hands intruded beneath her wet and soiled diapers and she resumed her masturbation during diapering by prolonged clitoral squeezing and rubbing, followed by pressing her thighs together as she searched the room until her gaze found her favorite male observer. She also turned her attention again to her mother's body, investigating her umbilicus. Dolls, too, became the object of her search, as she lifted their dresses and pointed at and named umbilicus, breast and genitals.

The upsurge of all this body exploration was accompanied by the appearance of a new crop of concrete symbolic objects. It seemed that her search for the phallus had widened from exploration of her own body onto the outer world as well. She collected crayons and chalk, in addition to the ever-present pens, all of which shared the structural aspect of a phallic-shaped object similar to the father's urinating penis.

Shortly, she began to secretly take toys with her whenever she left home or the nursery, often in a rather sly way; perhaps an early form of "kleptomania". (Her mother's increasingly obvious pregnancy, and Rose's search for the missing phallus, both probably played a part in the genesis of this symptom.) That the somewhat secretive "stealing" was accompanied by evidences of early super-ego development was clear from the "no-no" with which Rose chided herself as she proceeded to carry out a forbidden act.

By her 20th month Rose had reached a climax of possessiveness in relation to an assortment of concrete objects; toy cars, the tops of pens which she hid in closets, crayons with which she marked walls and a toy wrist watch which she regularly lost and found again. Finally she placed one of the crayons between her labia during a diapering, in an all too vivid demonstration of the source of her distress.

Search at the Anal Zone at 22½ Months:

We think that the mother's advancing pregnancy gave a particularly strong impetus to Rose's dilemna as she grappled with the problem of penis envy. During her 22nd month, she seemed absorbed both in her struggle to understand the inside-outside aspect at the anal zone itself and in her search for the anal phallus. She explored her anus with her fingers, insisted upon being diapered "from the rear", and was distressed at removal of

her soiled diapers. Awareness of anal functioning was externalized in her extensive play with boxes, as she explored their inside-outside dimensions. She hoarded a multitude of "possessions", but was especially devoted to her picture puzzles and her supply of pennies. One night, when she finally had a stool in her toidy, having acceded to her mother's wishes, she looked bewildered and confused as she identified it by the word for bowel movement given by her parents.

Rose's anger at her mother, during the period of this phallic search was quite evident. The increase in hostile aggression threatened the already compromised mother-child relationship and the intensity of the conflict seemed to result in the development of new defenses. She developed new devotion to neatness and new fears of loud noises and of going down the slide, indicating that her angry wishes and her fear of loss of control had been both externalized and displaced.

Then the oral zone became involved as an additional site of inside-outside activities and phallic search. Many regressive oral activities appeared. These served both to discharge aggression and as a means of attaining the phantasied phallus through oral incorporation. She bit people, mouthed her mother's buttons and once again requested her previously abandoned pacifier and bottle. Her diet became remarkably restricted to phallic-shaped

slices of cucumbers, carrots, and other similarly shaped solids. The incorporative phallic fantasy which motivated these behaviors was clearly revealed when she removed the pen from her male observer's pocket, (calling him "Daddy" as she did so), placed the pen in her mouth and said "pee-pee"!

The Mother's Contribution to Further Symbolic Displacement:

Rose's mother had always offered diversion rather than direct frustration in her interaction with her child. She was remarkably clever at this, rarely resorting to a direct confrontation of wills. Now as she tried to help Rose in her continuing distress over the loss of the "stool phallus", she demonstrated the route followed by the stool in the soiled "pamper", as it was emptied into the toilet, placed in the garbage chute and thence removed by the garbage truck. In so doing, the mother offered a route for symbolic displacement with which Rose immediately complied. She became a devoted follower of garbage trucks which she identified even at great distances. That her mother's unspoken disapproval of the anal exploration had been understood, was evident as Rose began to hide from her mother during defecation. Her forbidden anal touching was externalized to constant and repetitive touching of garbage cans as well as the soil of potted plants and flowers and bushes.

Yet in spite of such extensive use of externalization, her anger at her mother and other females emerged again and again.

She bit, defied and provoked her mother, as well as female nursery observers, while her "love affair" with her father and other males continued. She sought every opportunity to be with her father in the bathroom, built high towers which she labelled "Daddies" for and with him, flirted vigorously with male observers, and appropriated their pens whenever she could, while she built only horizontal structures when playing with her mother. And, as might be expected, her masturbation returned once again as she placed three fingers deeply within the vaginal introitus while being diapered. But whereas she had seemed entirely unselfconscious previously, she now seemed aware of her mother's and a female observer's attention, and shifted her own gaze as if to avoid theirs. Some element of discomfort, perhaps shame, seemed to have become connected with her sexual activity.

Separation from the Father at 23 months:

Rose's father was away from home for several days. Many of her "lost" and found" games reflected her feelings of loss during his absence: they included repetitive toilet flushing, shutting herself into boxes and rooms, piling blocks into containers, devotion to the old wrist watch, and a renewed "kleptomania" as she came and went from home to nursery. She also "stored" pennies in her mouth, and explored every staircase as she continued her

search. We speculate that once again these body and external openings and enclosures represented the oral and anal routes she had earlier explored, both in her anatomical investigations of the oral and anal areas and in search of the hidden stool-phallus. Now she returned to these former sites in the absence of her father and his phallus.

The father's home coming gift for Rose was a replica of a New York garbage truck which became her favorite toy, soon to be joined by a fire-engine with expanding ladder, a jet plane, a car with battery operated lights and a gum machine operated by pushing a lever. The combined phallic and anal aspects of these toys made them exquisitely appropriate for use as concrete symbols for the anal phallus she sought. Verbal confirmation for the stool-phallus equation came when she pointed to the genitalia of a male anatomically correct doll and used her word for bowel movement.

The Mother's Delivery:

Towards the end of her mother's pregnancy, Rose's unhappiness over her genital state was demonstrated repeatedly. She positioned a flute at her genitals as she fell off to sleep one afternoon, She repeatedly tried to imitate a boy playmate's urination by arching her back in a comical and pathetic imitation

of her mother's protruding abdomen. The threat of her mother's impending departure led to a new flurry of "hiding" games as well as tenacious clinging to her favorite toys.

Her sister was born just two weeks before Rose's second birthday. On the baby's first day at home, Rose deliberately urinated on the floor and on a bed near the woman who had cared for her during the mother's absence, in a vivid demonstration of the site of her distress, as well as the cause of her anger.

We learned of her use of two new symbolic objects. One was a small umbrella which she had received as a gift during her mother's absence - again an uncannily intuitive choice by these parents who seemed to sense the cause of her distress all too keenly. The umbrella became an obligatory companion for a time; she took it to bed with her, named it in her sleep, pointed out pictures of umbrellas in books, and identified a tiny umbrella on dress material which was extremely difficult for others to see, even when pointed out. Its phallic shape, connection with wetness and its expandability made the umbrella a perfect phallic-urinary symbol.

The other new symbolic object was a nipple shield her mother used for nursing. Rose placed this at her genital area repeatedly, clearly indicating the formation of the nipple-penis equation.

As her active interest in watching her father's urination dwindled for the first time, Rose demanded pens more than ever and began to show a new interest in drawing. This new activity and a concomitant spurt in speech development indicated the attainment of a new level of verbal as well as non-verbal symbolic functioning. As for the drawing, which incorporated the symbolic pen, we think it may provide a future route for sublimation.

Follow-up:

We learned that Rose's third year was a difficult one. She continued to be irritable and provocative and resisted all efforts at toilet training until she entered another nursery school at 2 years and 10 months where, under the mild pressure of a kindly teacher, she was completely toilet trained within a week.

Shortly before her third birthday Rose attended a reunion of our nursery group. She was by then an active and sturdy youngster, still coyly flirtatious with men and demanding and possessive of her toys. The doll which was offered to all the girls as a "going-home" gift was firmly refused by Rose. She demanded and finally was given a truck which had been chosen for the boys. Her favorite play things were still cars and trucks and her favorite activities were bicycle riding and block building, whereas dolls were of no interest to her.

Discussion:

We have described the development of a group of concrete symbols, which emerged under the influence of certain body experiences, a particularly erotic father-child relationship, and the thrust of anal, urinary and genital awareness during the second half of the second year of life.

We believe with Greenacre (1956) that all three zones, oral, anal and genital, are active to some degree from the beginning of life; that there are peaks of relative ascendancy of one zone over the others, and that a particular zone may be prematurely or excessively stimulated and called into ascendancy by a variety of experiences.

Rose showed just such an unusually early emergence of genital excitation and awareness, a somatic grounding or patterning which appears to have had fateful consequences. Her early gastric distress, the motor inhibition imposed by the orthopedic appliances, the sense of body part loss when the braces were removed permanently, the primal scene exposure and the unusually erotic tie to the father had given rise to very early genital excitation and visual erotization (the flirtatious look). Masturbation with unusual arousal and intensity was already present at 12 months of age. Then, as she entered the normal stage of anal, urinary, and

genital schematization at 15½ months, her distress over the genital difference was unusually marked, and her search for the missing phallus began.

This dissatisfaction with her genital state was undoubtedly derived in great measure from her mother's feelings about her own femininity, some of which she had even consciously communicated to her child. However, we cannot go into this aspect of the material.

In her attempt to find the missing phallus, Rose made extensive use of the introjective-projective mechanism as well as that of visual incorporation - tendencies which we ascribe both to the primal scene exposure and to the erotic child-father tie. These tendencies facilitated the adoption of a number of concrete symbols, the pens, crayons and cigars, all of which were similar in appearance to her father's longed for phallus, and which were important to him in his daily life.

Returning to her own body, she searched at the anal zone, with consequent reawakening of anxiety concerning anal as well as object loss, in addition to the castration anxiety itself. Then once again, externalization was called into play to cope with these new anxieties, and yet another group of concrete objects seemed to be utilized in the semi-symbolic fashion of the earlier ones. These were the garbage truck, the gum machine and the pennies.

Finally came the flute, the umbrella, and the nipple shield during the painful phase of her displacement by the new baby, and the disappearance of the mother's phallic-like protruding abdomen.

Each new threat to the already wavering body image stability seemed to call for additional bolstering in the form of new concrete symbolic objects. Unlike many other children, Rose's "play" objects, if one can call them that, were invested with a greater than usual function in regard to her body image and sexual identity concerns. It would seem that this particular circumstance led then to a distortion of the normally developing symbolic function.

(Parenthetically, it is of interest that dolls were used only during the period of peak anxiety about the genital difference and were then abandoned permanently. This provides some verification for Kestenberg's (1956) hypothesis that the doll serves for externalization of internal uterine or vaginal sensations. It seems plausible that denial of just such sensations in Rose led to inhibition of all doll play.)

Rose's choice of early concrete symbols was characterized by a limited range, more rigid adherence to a particular type of pattern or structure in the symbols she developed, and an obligatory

quality. In addition, they had been objects in which at least one of her parents had a particular interest. Normally, the use of these early concrete symbols is gradually given up. Some may go into hiding, perhaps to develop into the hidden fetishes of women described by Greenacre (1960). We think that a good many of such concrete symbols are transformed into the primary process symbolism of dreams, while others appear as the symbolism of artistic forms, having been modified during the process of sublimation. Yet another line of development may be evident in the area of non-verbal conceptualization, such as Albert Einstein (1972) described in his recently published letters. In commenting on the genesis of his ideas, he said "Those thoughts did not come in any verbal formulation. I rarely think in words at all. A thought comes and I may try to express it in words afterward."

Finally, in more pathological situations, these concrete symbols may represent the first fetish or perhaps more accurately, the prefetish or infantile fetish, a development which is described by Roiphe and Galenson in another paper (1972).

In any event, the persistent and peculiar use of these concrete symbols seems to exert a particular influence upon the developing symbolic function in its non-verbal, as well as its verbal forms; that is, in the symbolism of dreams, fantasies,

artistic forms and certain intellectual non-verbal conceptualization.

Dr. John B. McDevitt has called our attention to the possibility that the type of pathological development described in Rose may be seen in borderline patients, where castration anxiety fuses so markedly with problems of body-image instability and fears of object-loss. Only long term follow-up studies can provide such data.

However, through our current study of the normally developing symbolic function and distortions in this ongoing process, we hope to identify those factors in early life which predispose to such distortions, as well as those circumstances which tend to cause particular stress during the first very active period of symbolic emergence, the second year of life. The mother's pregnancy and her delivery, coming in the midst of Rose's anal, urinary and genital body schematization and concerns, seem to have been just such traumatic circumstances for a child whose body image development and parental relationship had already been somewhat jeopardized during her first year of life.

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